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FM UKMIS NEW YORK 190042Z SEPT 80
TO IMMEDIATE FCO
TELEGRAM NUMBER 1306 OF 18 SEPTEMBER.
INFO IMMEDIATE PARIS WASHINGTON, ROUTINE MOD (DS 11).

MIPT: SOUTH AFRICA: UN ARMS EMBARGO COMMITTEE.

FOLLOWING IS LATEST VERSION OF TEXT OF THE COMMITTEE'S RECOMMENDAT-

## BEGINS

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N.7.

- A. THE FOLLOWING REGIMENDA TIONS ARE SUBMITTED FOR CONSIDERATION AND DECISION BY THE SECURITY COUNCIL IN ACCORDANCE WITH PARAGRAPH 11 OF SCR 473(1980). RESERVATIONS ARE LISTED AT B.
- 1. ALL STATES SHOULD UNDERTAKE CONCRETE STEPS TO CLOSE EXISTING LOOPHOLES IN THE EMBARGO. TO THIS END, ALL STATES SHOULD ENSURE THAT ARMS EXPORT AGREEMENTS INCLUDE GUARANTEES WHICH WOULD PREVENT EMBARGOED ITEMS FROM REACHING THE SOUTH AFRICAN MILITARY ESTABLISHMENT AND POLICE THROUGH THIRD COUNTRIES. THE GUARANTEES SHOULD COVER COMPONENTS OF EMBARGOED ITEMS SUB-CONTRACTED BY FIRMS FROM ONE COUNTRY TO ANOTHER.
- 2. STATES SHOULD PROHIBIT THE EXPORT OF SPARE PARTS FOR EMBARGOED AIRCRAFT AND OTHER MILITARY EQUIPMENT BELONGING TO SOUTH AFRICA, AND THE MAINTENANCE AND SERVICING OF SUCH EQUIPMENT.
- 3. STATES SHOUD REVOKE OR TERMINATE ALL INDUSTRIAL LICENCES PREVHOUSLY CONCLUDED WITH SOUTH AFRICA TO MANUFACTURE ARMS AND RELATED
  MATERIEL OF ALL TYPES.
  - 4. STATES SHOULD PROHIBIT GOVERNMENT AGENCIES AND CORPORATIONS UNDER THEIR JURISDICTION FROM TRANSFERRING TECHNOLOGY OR USING TECHNOLOGY SUBJECT TO THEIR CONTROL IN THE MANUFACTURE OF ARMS AND RELATED MATERIEL OF ALL TYPES IN SOUTH AFRICA.
  - 5. STATES SHOULD PROHIBIT CORPORATIONS UNDER THEIR JURISDICTION FROM INVESTING IN THE MANUFACTURE OF ARMS AND RELATED MATERIEL IN SOUTH AFRICA.
  - PURPOSE UNQUOTE ITEMS, I.E., ITEMS PROVIDED FOR CIVILIAN USE BUT WITH THE POTENTIAL FOR DIVERSION OR CONVERSION TO MILITARY USE. IN PARTICULAR, THEY SHOULD CEASE THE SUPPLY OF AIRCRAFT, AIRCRAFT ENGINES, AIRCRAFT PARTS, ELECTRONIC AND TELECOMMUNICATIONS EQUIPMENT AND COMPUTERS TO SOUTH AFRICA. SUPPLIES OF 4-WHEEL DRIVE VEHICLES DESTINED FOR THE MILITARY OR POLICE FORCES SHOULD ALSO BE PROHIBITED.

7. ALL EXPORTS TO THE SOUTH AFRICAN MILITARY AND POLICE, EXCEPT MEDICAL EQUIPMENT SOLD TO CIVILIAN USERS, SHOULD BE PROHIBITED.

8. ALL FORMS OF NUCLEAR COLLABORATION WITH SOUTH AFRICA SHOULD CEASE. THERE SHOULD ALSO BE A TERMINATION OF THE EXCHANGE OF NUCLEAR SCIENTISTS WITH SOUTH AFRICA, AS WELL AS THE TERMINATION OF THE TRAINING OF SOUTH AFRICAN NUCLEAR SCIENTISTS IN ANY COUNTRY.

9. ALL STATES SHOULD ENSURE THAT THEIR NATIONAL LEGISLATION OR COMPARABLE POLICY DIRECTIVES GUARANTEE THAT SPECIFIC PROVISIONS TO IMPLEMENT RESOLUTION 418 (1977) INCLUDE STIFF PENALTIES FOR VIOLATIONS.

18. ALL STATES SHOULD INCLUDE IN THEIR NATIONAL LEGISLATION OR COMPARABLE POLICY DIRECTIVES PROVISIONS TO PROHIBIT WITHIN THEIR NATIONAL JURISDICTION THE ENLISTMENT AND/OR THE RECRUITMENT OF MERCENARIES OR ANY OTHER PERSONNEL FOR SERVICE WITH SOUTH AFRICA'S MILITARY AND POLICE FORCES.

11. STATES WHICH HAVE NOT DONE SO SHOULD PUT AN END TO EXCHANGES OF MILITARY ATTACHES, AS WELL AS EXCHANGES OF VISITS BY GOVERNMENT PERSONNEL, EXPERTS IN WEAPONS TECHNOLOGY AND EMPLOYEES OF ARMS FACTORIES UNDER THEIR JURISDICTION, WHEN SUCH VISITS AND EXCHANGES MAINTAIN OR INCREASE SOUTH AFRICA'S MILITARY OR POLICE CAPABILITIES.

12. NO STATE SHOULD CONTRIBUTE TO SOUTH AFRICA'S ARMS AND PRODUCTION CAPABILITY: THUS THE EMBARGO SHOULD INCLUDE IMPORTS OF ARMS AND RELATED MATERIEL OF ALL TYPES FROM SOUTH AFRICA.

13. NATO COUNTRIES, IN IMPLEMENTING THE TERMS OF RESOLUTION 418 (1977), SHOULD REJECT ANY ARMS PURCHASE ORDERS BY SOUTH AFRICA, SUBMITTED THROUGH THE CODIFICATION SYSTEM USED BY NATO MEMBER STATES.

14. RECALLING THE PROVISION OF PARAGRAPH 1 (C) OF RESOLUTION 421 (1977) WHICH REQUESTS THE COMMITTEE QUOTE TO SEEK FROM ALL STATES PURTHER INFORMATION REGARDING ACTION TAKEN BY THEM CONCERNING THE EFFECTIVE IMPLEMENTATION OF THE PROVISIONS LAID DOWN IN RESOLUTION 418 (1977) UNQUOTE, THE COMMITTEE CONSIDERS THAT FURTHER ACTION IS NEEDED TO STUDY SYSTEMATICALLY THE INTERNATIONAL FLOW OF ARMS TO SOUTH AFRICA, WITH A VIEW TO MONITOR AND VERIFY EFFECTIVELY THE TRANSFERS OF ARMS AND OTHER EQUIPMENT IN VIOLATION OF THE EMBARGO. MEASURES SHOULD ALSO BE TAKEN TO INVESTIGATE VIOLATIONS AND PREVENT FUTURE CIRCUMVENTION OF THE EMBARGO. INTERNATIONAL PUBLIC OPINION SHOULD BE MORE INFORMED AS TO THE TERMS OF THE EMBARGO AND ALERTED TO ITS VIOLATIONS. IT IS, THEREFORE, NECESSARY TO MAINTAIN DIRECT CONTACT WITH RESPONSIBLE INTER-GOVERNMENTAL AND NON-GOVERNMENTAL ORGANISATIONS WHOSE ACTIVITIES AND/OR EXPERTISE ARE LIKELY TO PROMOTE THE STRICT IMPLEMENTATION OF THE EMBARGO. CONSEQUENTLY, THE COMMITTEE CONSIDERS THAT THE MACHINERY FOR THE IMPLEMENTATION OF THE EMBARGO SHOULD BE STRENGTHENED.

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15. A SANCTIONS BRANCH SHOULD BE CREATED WITHIN THE SECRETARIAT
TO ASSIST THE COMMITTEE IN CARRYING OUT ITS FUNCTIONS AS OUTLINED
ABOVE.

16. ONE MEMBER PROPOSED THAT THE COMMITTEE RECOMMEND THAT THE SECURITY COUNCIL SHOULD CALL ON ALL STATES WHICH CONTINUE TO COLLABORATE WITH SOUTH AFRICA IN THE NUCLEAR FIELD TO STOP SUCH COLLABORATION UNLESS SOUTH AFRICA ACCEPTS FULL-SCOPE INTERNATIONAL SAFEGUARDS.

B. THE UNITED KINGDOM PLACED A GENERAL RESERVE ON THE ABOVE. FRANCE EXPRESSED RESERVATIONS ON PARAS 3, 5, 7, 11, 13 AND 15 AND ITS OPPOSITION TO PARAS 6 AND 8. THE UNITED STATES EXPRESSED RESERVATIONS WITH REGARD TO PARAGRAPHS 5, 6, 8, 10 AND 15.

ENDS

PARSONS

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TO IMMEDIATE FCO

TELEGRAM NUMBER 1305 OF 18 SEPTEMBER
INFO IMMEDIATE PARIS WASHINGTON ROUTINE MOD DS11

MIPT: SOUTH AFRICA: UN ARMS EMBARGO

1. YOU WILL SEE FROM MIPT THAT FRENCH SUPPORT MAY (REPEAT MAY)
BE FIRMING UP PARTLY BECAUSE OF US RAILROADING TACTICS. THE
PORTUGUESE WHO EARLIER HAD EXPRESSED GENERAL SUPPORT FOR THE
RECOMMENDATIONS APPEAR TO BE HAVING SECOND THOUGHTS BECAUSE OF
THE POTENTIALLY FAR REACHING IMPLICATIONS OF US ADVOCACY OF A
BAN ON SALES OF ALL GOODS WHICH MIGHT GET IN TO THE HANDS OF
THE SOUTH AFRICAN MILITARY OR POLICE. EVEN THE AMERICANS HAVE
PROBLEMS WITH SOME OF THE RECOMMENDATIONS.

- 2. IT IS TOO EARLY TO GUESS WITH ANY CERTAINTY AT AFRICAN INTENTIONS. WE KNOW THAT THEY ARE THINKING OF CALLING A SECURITY COUNCIL MEETING TO START ON 25 SEPTEMBER TO GIVE THEIR FOREIGN MINISTERS AN OPPORTUNITY TO SOUND OFF AGAINST SOUTH AFRICA ON APARTHEID. BUT THEY HAVE NOT YET SENT IN A LETTER ASKING FORMALLY FOR SUCH A MEETING. THE TRUTH IS THAT THEY HAVE BEEN TOO BUSY WITH OTHER MATTERS TO FOCUS THEIR MINDS.
- 3. IF THIS MEETING TAKES PLACE, THE COMMITTEE REPORT WILL BE ON THE TABLE. MY PRESENT FEELING IS THAT THE AFRICAN STRATEGIC OBJECTIVE WILL BE TO EXTEND THE ARMS EMBARGO AS MUCH AS THEY CAN RATHER THAN TO PROVOKE WESTERN VETOES. THEIR AIM WOULD BE A RESOLUTION IN MANDATORY LANGUAGE. THEY ARE LIKELY TO PLAY THE DETAILS BY EAR AS THE DEBATE DEVELOPS. ON PAST FORM THEIR TACTICS MIGHT WELL BE TO ESTABLISH THE MAXIMUM THEY CAN GET OUT OF THE AMERICANS AND THEN BRING PRESSURE ON THE FRENCH AND OURSELVES TO FALL INTO LINE. AT THAT STAGE WE MIGHT STILL HAVE A LITTLE NEGOTIATING MARGIN EG ON MANDATORY/NON-MANDATORY LANGUAGE ON INDIVIDUAL PARAGRAPHS, BUT THE AFRICANS WOULD PROBABLY TRY TO PICK OFF THE FRENCH FIRST, LEAVING US IN THE LAST DITCH. ALL THIS MIGHT GO ON FOR SOME DAYS.

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TELEGRAM NUMBER 1304 OF 18 SEPTEMBER
INFO IMMEDIATE PARIS WASHINGTON ROUTINE MOD DS11

MY TELNOS 1299 AND 1300: SOUTH AFRICA: UN ARMS EMBARGO COMMITTEE.

1. THE COMMITTEE MET ALL DAY TODAY ( 18 SEPTEMBER ) AND
AGREED ITS RECOMMENDATIONS TO THE SECURITY COUNCIL SUBJECT TO
DETAILED RESERVATIONS FROM FRANCE AND THE US AND A GENERAL
RESERVATION FROM THE UNITED KINGDOM.

- 2. THERE WAS AN UNEDIFYING OPEN DISPUTE AMONG NATO ALLIES (FRANCE, PORTUGAL AND THE US) OVER A COMPLETE REWORDING OF PARA 7 PROPOSED BY THE AMERICANS.
- 3. WE MADE A SHORT STATEMENT POINTING OUT THAT THE RECOMMENDATIONS HAD ONLY JUST REACHED THEIR FINAL FORM AND WOULD NEED CAREFUL EXAMINATION BY MANY GOVERNMENT DEPARTMENTS. WE THEN PLACED A GENERAL RESERVE ON ALL OF THEM
- 4. FRANCE EXPRESSED RESERVATIONS ON PARAS 3,5,11, 13 AND 15, ITS STRONG OPPOSITION TO PARAS 6 AND 8, AND LATER A RESERVATION ON THE NEW AMERICAN WORDING FOR PARA 7 (SEE TEXT IN MIFT).
- 5. THE US EXPRESSED RESERVATIONS ON PARAS 5,6,8, 10 AND 15.
- 6. PORTUGAL ASKED FOR 24 HOURS TO CONSIDER THE NEW AMERICAN WORDING FOR PARA 7.
- 7. COMMENT ON SECURITY COUNCIL PROSPECTS IS IN MY FIRST IFT AND LATEST VERSION OF THE TEXT OF THE COMMITTEE RECOMMENDATIONS IS IN MY SECOND IFT.

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